

## Message Text

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CINCPAC

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR,CH,UR,JA

SUBJECT: SOVIETS TAKE CREDIT FOR DEFEAT OF JAPAN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY. SOVIET MEDIA ON SEPTEMBER 3 DEVOTE MAJOR ATTENTION TO THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF JAPAN'S SURRENDER. DEFENSE MINISTER GRECHKO ISSUED AN ORDER OF THE DAY AND MFA ASIAN EXPERT KAPITSA WROTE A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF RUSSIAN/ SOVIET CONFLICTS WITH JAPAN. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THESE ITEMS EXAGGERATE THE SOVIET ROLE IN DEFEATING JAPAN WHILE BARELY NOTING THAT OTHER COUNTRIES ALSO FOUGHT. JAPAN'S DEFEAT, SAYS MOSCOW, GAVE IMPETUS TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ASIA WHICH LED TO ITS LATER SUCCESS IN CHINA, KOREA AND INDOCHINA. GRECHKO CALLS FOR AN ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM. SOVIET RELATIONS WITH JAPAN ARE DESCRIBED AS IMPROVING, BUT SLOWLY, AND TERRITORIAL ISSUES WERE ALLEGEDLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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SETTLED BY THE TERMS OF THE SURRENDER. IN ANOTHER ARTICLE, THE MAOISTS ARE BLASTED FOR MINIMIZING THE SOVIET ROLE IN LIBERATING CHINA AND AIDING THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRAVDA AND KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (SEPT. 3) FRONT PAGE DEFENSE MINISTER GRECHKO'S ORDER OF THE DAY MARKING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF JAPAN'S FORMAL SURRENDER. SOVIET FORCES PLAYED A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE VICTORY, SAYS GRECHKO, WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE LIBERATION OF CHINA AND KOREA, AND THE LATER SUCCESS OF THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES, HE ALSO APPLAUDS THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MONGOLIAN ARMY, OF OTHER UNNAMED ALLIES AND OF ASIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. NOW MOSCOW'S RELATIONS WITH JAPAN ARE DEVELOPING PEACEFULLY, SAYS GRECHKO. DETENTE IS GOING FORWARD, AND FOLLOWING HELSINKI THE USSR IS STRIVING ANEW TO CREATE A SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA, SAYS GRECHKO. HOWEVER, CERTAIN FORCES "ABOVE ALL THE FORCES OF IMPERIALIST REACTION AND AGGRESSION" OPPOSE THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE.

3. COMMENT: GRECHKO DOES NOT MENTION BY NAME ANY OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH FOUGHT JAPAN (EXCEPT MONGOLIA), DOES NOT MENTION THE WAR IN CHINA, BARELY TOUCHES CHINA'S OWN LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND PASSES UP A CHANCE TO LUMP "MAOISM" WITH THE FORCES OPPOSED TO PEACE AND PROGRESS. END COMMENT

4. PRAVDA ALSO CARRIES A LONG HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS BY MIKHAIL KAPITSA, CHIEF OF THE SOVIET MFA'S FIRST FAR EAST DIVISION. (AS USUAL IN PUBLIC MEDIA ITEMS, KAPITSA IS IDENTIFIED ONLY AS A "PROFESSOR".) KAPITSA DWELLS ON JAPANESE MILITARY EXPANSIONISM DURING THE HALF CENTURY 1895-1945, POINTING TO THE JAPANESE SEIZURE OF VARIOUS ASIAN TERRITORIES INCLUDING "RUSSIAN". IN 1918 JAPAN INTERVENED MILITARILY AGAINST THE SOVIET FAR EAST AND WAS SOON JOINED BY THE ENTENTE POWERS AND THE US, SAYS KAPITSA, BUT THE WESTERN POWERS DID NOT SUPPORT MOSCOW'S LATER CALL FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST JAPAN'S GRADUAL TAKEOVER OF PARTS OF CHINA. THE JAPANESE JOINED THE GERMANS UNDER THE FLAG OF "ANTICOMMUNISM" AND HOPED TO DIVIDE UP THE USSR, BUT WERE REPULSED. TOKYO'S 1941 NEUTRALITY PACT WITH MOSCOW WAS SIMPLY A JAPANESE MANEUVER TO REDUCE SOVIET VIGILANCE WHILE BUILDING UP ITS FORCES. THE SOVIETS THEREFORE HAD TO HOLD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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30-40 DIVISIONS IN THE FAR EAST.

KAPITSA REVIEWS MOSCOW'S PLEDGE AT YALTA TO INTERVENE AGAINST JAPAN AFTER THE DEFEAT OF GERMANY, AND STATES THAT THE YALTA AGREEMENT, SIGNED BY THE USSR, THE US AND THE UK, PROVIDED FOR THE RETURN OF RUSSIAN TERRITORIES SEIZED IN 1904, INCLUDING SOUTHERN SAKHALIN, THE ISLANDS NEAR IT, AND THE KURILE ISLANDS. AT POTSDAM IN JULY, 1945, THE US, THE UK AND CHINA STATED THE TERMS FOR JAPANESE SURRENDER, AND THE SOVIETS SUBSCRIBED TO THEM ON AUGUST 8. IN THE SURRENDER DOCUMENT JAPAN ACCEPTED THE TERMS OF THE POTSDAM DECLARATION AND AGREED TO LIMIT ITSELF TO THE FOUR MAIN

ISLANDS "PLUS A FEW OTHERS," KAPITSA RECOUNTS. AS A RESULT OF THE WAR THE SOVIET UNION TOOK BACK "AGE-OLD RUSSIAN TERRITORY--SOUTHERN SAKHALIN AND THE KURILE ISLANDS."

6. KAPITSA SAYS THAT THE US ATOMIC BOMBING OF AUGUST 6 AND 9 KILLED "THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE" BUT DID NOT CAUSE JAPAN TO END THE WAR. THE SOVIET UNION DECLARED WAR ON AUGUST 8 AND KAPITSA QUOTES THE THEN JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI THAT THE ENTRY OF THE USSR MEANT THE IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR JAPAN TO CONTINUE THE WAR. THE SOVIET ROUT OF THE KWANTUNG ARMY LEFT TOKYO NO HOPE, SAYS KAPITSA. BE SPEEDING THE END, THE SOVIETS HELPED TO SAVE MILLIONS OF US, BRITISH AND JAPANESE LIVES FROM A PLANNED JAPANESE ATTACK USING BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

7. THE DEFEAT OF JAPAN AIDED THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ELSEWHERE IN ASIA, SAYS KAPITSA. THE SOVIET BELIEVED MANCHURIA TO THE CONTROL OF THE CHINESE PLA. WITH THE CAPTURED JAPANESE ARMS WHICH THE SOVIETS GAVE TO THE CHINESE, THE PLA LAUNCHED ITS GENERAL OFFENSIVE IN MID-1947, WHICH LED TO THE LIBERATION SUCCESS TWO YEARS LATER. NORTH KOREA WAS FOUNDED IN SEPT., 1948, AND NORTH VIETNAM IN SEPT., 1945.

8. KAPITSA THEN SAYS THAT "CERTAIN CIRCLES" ARE MOUNTING A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE JAPANESE IN CONNECTION WITH THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY, BUT HE NOTES THAT JAPAN SINCE THE WAR HAS HAD BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS, TRADE UNIONS, AND POLITICAL PARTIES, AND HE QUOTES THE CONSTITUTIONAL BAN ON ARMED FORCES. SOVIET RELATIONS ARE BASED ON MUTUALLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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BENEFICIAL COOPERATION, BUT A LONG TIME WAS REQUIRED TO FULLY NORMALIZE RELATIONS HE SAYS. IMPROVEMENT COULD BE QUICKER IF BOTH SIDES WOULD TRY, AND IF THOSE FORCES IN JAPAN WHICH WOULD LIKE TO RESUME AN ADVENTURISTIC COURSE, ARE REBUFFED.

9. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (SEPT. 3) CARRIES A MAJOR COMMENTARY ON V-J DAY, BY A. MIKHAILOV, BLASTING THE "MAOISTS" FOR ALLEGEDLY MINIMIZING THE SOVIET ROLE IN JAPAN'S DEFEAT. THE ARTICLE GOES FURTHER THAN KAPITSA'S IN CLAIMING CREDIT FOR THE SOVIETS IN CHINA'S LIBERATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MANCHURIA. THE JAPANESE KWANTUNG ARMY IS PORTRAYED AS AN OVERRIDING FORCE EVEN IN 1945. BUT THE RED ARMY, IN ONLY TWO WEEKS, WAS ABLE TO ROUT THIS FORCE AND LIBERATE CHINA. THE ARTICLE PAYS PASSING MENTION TO THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE PARTISANS BUT QUOTES SEVERAL CHINESE, INCLUDING MAO AND CHU TE, PRAISING AND THANKING THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR HELP. THIS MASSIVE HELP, SAYS MIKHAILOV, CONTINUED AGAINST THE EFFORTS OF THE KMT REACTIONARIES AND THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS TO PROMOTE CIVIL WAR. THUS THE MAOISTS FALSIFY HISTORY TO

DENY OUTSIDE HELP IN THEIR SUCCESS, SAYS MIKHAILOV.

10. COMMENT: KAPITSA'S AUTHORITATIVE ARTICLE EMPHASIZES RUSSIA/SOVIET TENSIONS WITH JAPAN OVER A LONG PERIOD, AND PREDICTABLY EXAGGERATES THE SOVIET ROLE IN JAPAN'S DEFEAT AND DENIGRATES THE ROLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, HE INVOKES THE YALTA AND POTSDAM AGREEMENTS, ALONG WITH THE HISTORICAL ARGUMENTS ABOUT JAPANESE SEIZURE OF TERRITORY, TO SHOW THAT THE POST-WAR REVERSION OF TERRITORY WAS SANCTIONED BY THE U.S. AND OTHERS AND ACCEPTED BY JAPAN AS PART OF THE SURRENDER TERMS. UNSTATED BY OBVIOUS IS THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SURRENDER SETTLED THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION FOR ALLTIME. KAPITSA'S CHARACTERIZATION OF POST-WAR RELATIONS IS VERY TEPID, CLEARLY IMPLYING THAT THE ONUS FOR THE SLOW PACE OF IMPROVEMENT LIES WITH JAPAN. STOESEL

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